

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 FEA-01 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-07 NRC-05 OES-06 DODE-00
ERDA-05 PM-04 PA-01 PRS-01 /075 W
-----291056Z 018979 /14
R 290837Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4458

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 18952

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: TECH, ENRG, PARM, JA
SUBJECT: U.S. NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICY

REF: TOKYO 18857

1. SUMMARY. DIRGEN UN AFFAIRS OKAWA DECEMBER 28 PRESENTED DCM WITH INITIAL GOJ RESPONSE TO US POLICY PROPOSAL ON NUCLEAR-FUEL REPROCESSING, EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR NON-PROLIFERATION GOALS TOGETHER WITH CONCERN THAT GOJ BE ASSURED OF ABILITY TO PROCEED WITH PRESENT REPROCESSING PLANS, INCLUDING USE OF TOKAI MURA FACILITY. OKAWA SAID HE HOPED WITH US CONCURRENCE TO MAKE STATEMENT PUBLIC AND ALSO ASKED FOR EXPRESSION OF US ASSURANCE FOR USE IN DIET INTERPELLATION THAT JAPANESE CONCERNS WILL BE FACTORED INTO US POLICY. HE EMPHASIZED GOJ SUPPORT OF NPT HAD BEEN PREDICATED ON CONTINUED US COOPERATION IN DEVELOPING JAPAN'S NUCLEAR-ENERGY PROGRAM. ACTION REQUESTED: 1) CONCURRENCE IN GOJ RELEASE OF TEXT OF AIDE MEMOIRE; 2) CONSIDERATION OF ORAL OR WRITTEN ASSURANCE TO MEET GOJ POLITICAL AS WELL AS ENERGY-PLANNING NEEDS. END SUMMARY.

2. DIRECTOR GENERAL UN BUREAU, MOFA, OKAWA ASKED DCM TO CALL ON DECEMBER 28. OKAWA OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY MENTIONING A NIHON KEIZAI ARTICLE THE PREVIOUS DAY (TEXT SEPTTEL) REPORTING
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THAT THE GOJ INTENDED TO CONVEY IN WRITING TO THE USG THE BASIC POLICY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY AIMED AT ESTABLISHING ITS OWN NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE AND SEEKING US UNDERSTANDING. OKAWA THEN PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING AIDE MEMOIRE, THE FIRST AND MORE GENERAL OF TWO GOJ STATEMENTS ON

NUCLEAR-EXPORT POLICY REFERRED TO IN REFTEL. QUOTE
THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN HAS CONSISTENTLY FOLLOWED
A FUNDAMENTAL POLICY OF FORSAKING NUCLEAR ARMAMENT, AND,
AS A PARTY TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS (HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS "THE TREATY")
IS DETERMINED TO INTENSIFY ITS EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE
PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF PEACEFUL
USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. IN THIS RESPECT THE GOVERN-
MENT OF JAPAN BELIEVES THAT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS
TO SECURE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO THE TREATY
ARE OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN SHARES WITH THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES THE BASIC RECOGNITION THAT RE-
PROCESSING OF SPENT FUEL AND UTILIZATION OF PLUTONIUM
PRESENT PARTICULARLY SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION
WITH THE PREVENTION OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND THAT APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS
NEED TO BE APPLIED TO THESE ACTIVITIES.

AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN
BELIEVES THAT CAREFUL CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE
WAYS AND MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING SUCH CONTROLS, SO THAT
PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES IN NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES
PARTY TO THE TREATY WOULD CONTINUE TO BE GUARANTEED IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISION OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY
AND THAT THE INEQUALITY INHERENT IN THE TREATY BETWEEN
NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES AND NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES WOULD
NOT BE FURTHER AGGRAVATED.
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IN PROMOTING PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, THE
GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN CONSIDERS IT INDISPENSABLE, FOR THE
FOLLOWING REASONS, TO PROCEED WITH REPROCESSING OF SPENT
FUEL AND WITH UTILIZATION OF RECOVERED PLUTONIUM.

THE FIRST REASON DERIVES FROM JAPAN'S
RESOURCES AND ENERGY POLICY. IN ORDER TO SECURE STABLE
ENERGY SUPPLY ON THE LONG TERM BASIS, IT IS NECESSARY
FOR JAPAN, WHICH HAS SCARCE DOMESTIC OIL RESOURCES,
TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY, AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN HAS MADE IT A POLICY TO PROMOTE
FULL UTILIZATION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, THE MOST RELIABLE
PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVE IN THIS RESPECT, AS THE FIRST
PRIORITY IN HER EFFORTS TO SECURE STABLE ENERGY SUPPLY.
THE PURPOSE OF THIS POLICY CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH
REPROCESSING OF SPENT FUEL AND UTILIZATION OF RECOVERED
PLUTONIUM.

THE SECOND REASON IS RELATED TO JAPAN'S DOMESTIC CONDITIONS WITH REGARD TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. DUE TO ADVERSE GEOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER CONDITIONS IN JAPAN, THE PUBLIC DOES NOT CONSIDER IT ACCEPTABLE TO STORE SPENT FUEL AS SUCH FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SAFETY AND OF IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT, AND INTENSIFIED EFFORTS TO COMPLETE THE BACK END OF THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE ARE STRONGLY URGED FOR THE SAKE OF INCREASING NATIONAL CONFIDENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE TO HAVE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED WITH A VIEW TO HARMONIZING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED BASIC POLICY OF JAPAN ON THE ONE HAND, AND NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO PREVENT THE PRO-

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LIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE OTHER.
TOKYO, DECEMBER 28, 1976 UNQUOTE

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 FEA-01 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-07 NRC-05 OES-06 DODE-00
ERDA-05 PRS-01 PA-01 /071 W
-----291056Z 018862 /14

R 290837Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4459

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 18952

3. OKAWA COMMENTED THAT HE REALIZED GOJ AIDE MEMOIRE ADDRESSES ISSUES WHICH MUST AWAIT FULL-SCALE CONSIDERATION BY CARTER ADMINISTRATION AS IT FORMULATES ITS POLICIES ON NUCLEAR ENERGY AND NON-PROLIFERATION. IN

PRESENTING A FORMAL STATEMENT OF ITS VIEWS AT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, GOJ HOPED THAT JAPAN'S INTERESTS AND CONCERN WOULD BE GIVEN FULL WEIGHT BY INCOMING ADMINISTRATION. MORE SPECIFICALLY, OKAWA EMPHASIZED URGENT NEED FOR JAPAN TO OBTAIN SOME ASSURANCE, EITHER IN WRITING OR ORALLY, WHICH COULD BE USED PUBLICLY, THAT U.S. HAS FACTORED JAPANESE POLICY AND NUCLEAR-ENERGY REQUIREMENTS INTO U.S. POLICY AND THAT U.S. WILL PERMIT U.S. ORIGIN SPENT FUEL TO BE REPROCESSED AT TOKAI-MURA AND IN U.K. AND FRANCE. OKAWA EXPLAINED THAT GOVERNMENT WILL PRESENT IAEA SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT TO COMING REGULAR SESSION OF DIET AND THAT DELIBERATIONS PROBABLY WILL BEGIN IN LOWER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IN LATTER PART OF MARCH. IN LIGHT OF QUESTIONS RAISED BY PRESIDENT FORD'S STATEMENT OF POLICY ON NUCLEAR-FUEL REPROCESSING AND NON-PROLIFERATION, OKAWA EXPECTS GOVERNMENT WILL BE PRESSED HARD BY CRITICS WITHIN OPPOSITION AND EVEN LDP TO SHOW THAT IN FACT JAPAN'S ADHERENCE TO NPT HAS NOT PREJUDICED ITS ACCESS TO NUCLEAR FUEL AND TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. SUCH
USG ASSURANCES AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, OKAWA
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INSISTED, WOULD BE VITAL TO AN EFFECTIVE REBUTTAL OF SUCH ATTACKS. MOFA CREDIBILITY WILL BE AT STAKE, HE ASSERTED, SINCE IT HAS LONG TAKEN THE POSITION THAT ASSURANCES OF COMPLETE U.S. NUCLEAR COOPERATION AWAITED ONLY JAPAN'S RATIFICATION OF NPT. MOFA CONSEQUENTLY CONSIDERS IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT NPT BE BASIC FOUNDATION OF U.S. NUCLEAR POLICY.

4. OKAWA EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF DIET DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE (I.E., BY LATTER PART OF MARCH) NEW CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE IN POSITION TO PROVIDE GOJ WITH ASSURANCES IT SEEKS AND WHICH COULD, IN TURN, BE USED IN DIET IN DEFENSE OF GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. HE ALSO SAID THAT IN THE COURSE OF THAT DEBATE THE GOVERNMENT PROBABLY WOULD WISH TO MAKE PUBLIC THE TEXT OF THIS AIDE MEMOIRE, PROVIDED USG HAD NO OBJECTION.

5. DCM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR MOFA STATEMENT AND VIEWS AND AGREED TO TRANSMIT AIDE MEMOIRE IMMEDIATELY TO DEPARTMENT FOR ATTENTION OF NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION.

6. OKAWA STATED THAT ALL HE WOULD REVEAL TO PRESS AT THIS TIME WOULD BE THAT A STATEMENT OF JAPAN NUCLEAR POLICY HAS BEEN CONVEYED TO US GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT STATEMENT ITSELF WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC ONLY WITH USG CONCURRENCE.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: 1) CONCURRENCE TO RELEASE
TEXT OF GOJ AIDE MEMOIRE NOW OR LATER; 2) CONSIDERATION
OF BRIEF RESPONSE TO GOJ STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE
AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE IN MEETING TYPE OF ASSURANCE
GOJ SEEKS AS OUTLINED IN PARA. 3 ABOVE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NPT, POLICIES, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, EXPORT CONTROLS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976TOKYO18952
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760474-1075
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976125/aaaaaeik.tel
Line Count: 229
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 18857
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 NOV 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 NOV 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <16 AUG 2004 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: U.S. NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICY
TAGS: TECH, ENRG, PARM, JA, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006